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SPEECH

OF



HON. SAMUEL S. MARSHALL,

OF ILLINOIS,

ON THE

INSANITY OF THE TIMES,

AND THE

PRESENT CONDITION OF POLITICAL PARTIES.

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AUGUST 6, 1856.

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## CONDITION OF POLITICAL PARTIES.

The House being in the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union—

**Mr. MARSHALL**, of Illinois, said:

**Mr. CHAIRMAN:** It is with much reluctance that I engage in discussions here not pertaining to the business immediately before the House. Without that position or reputation which would command the ear of the House or the country, I shrink with natural timidity from a comparison with the older and abler champions of popular rights on this floor. As a mere individual, I should feel it my duty to remain silent; but representing, as I do, a people, every pulsation of whose heart beats with love and veneration for this Union, and for the Constitution of our country, I feel that, in this momentous crisis, they have a right to be heard through their Representative. Speaking, then, as I do, not for myself, but for more than one hundred thousand free citizens of this great Republic, I shall, with some confidence, claim the indulgence of the House for a very short time.

**Mr. Chairman**, a strange and unaccountable madness has seized upon the public mind. To say that our country is now in imminent peril is only to give utterance to the painful feeling which pervades every heart. Misrule has grafted her empire in our very midst, and anarchy is inhaling the vital elements of her existence.

We have, indeed, fallen upon strange times. The scenes daily transpiring—everything around us, portend that we are in the midst of dangers—that we are madly drifting towards the abyss of anarchy, disunion, and civil war, with all their dreadful evils. It is surely time for us to awaken to the dangers that surround us. It is time for every citizen who has a spark of patriotism left to pause in this mad struggle for party, and sacrificing all his prejudices on the altar of his country, take his stand by, and boldly make battle for, the Constitution and the Union.

I am no alarmist; but it is not the part of wisdom to trust too blindly in the strength of the bond that binds us together. It has been hawked

at and trifled with long enough. When we remember that Greece, with all her power, her glory, and her learning—her proud monuments and free institutions, now lives only in the page of history; and that Rome's proud eagles have long since been humbled in the dust, we should not trust with too much confidence in the strength and perpetuity of our own matchless Republic.

I am one of those, sir, who believe that there is a superintending Providence that guides and directs the destinies of nations. No one who has read the history of our revolutionary struggle can doubt that the Almighty raised up the great men of that day for the special purpose of giving independence and freedom to this great continent. We have, indeed, been the peculiar favorites of Heaven: and have had, day by day, unnumbered blessings showered upon us. It is equally certain, that there are times in the history of the world when the Ruler of the Universe becomes weary of man's constant proclivity to wickedness and folly; and withdrawing his protecting care, leaves us to that inevitable destruction which must follow the dictates of our own passions, and the promptings of our own unguided reason.

The history of God's own chosen people, who, ungrateful, stubborn, and rebellious, were finally abandoned to the desolation and destruction resulting from their own madness and folly;—the wild fanaticism of the crusades, in the prosecution of which death and desolation, in all their horrid forms, swept over the world, and the plains of Europe and Asia were whitened with the bones of millions of human beings;—the horrors of the French revolution, when infidelity took possession of the pulpit; irreligion enthroned itself on the domestic altar; all that was venerable and sacred in the past was uprooted and destroyed; and by an awful farce, the Bible itself was publicly condemned and burnt, God dethroned, and the goddess of reason substituted as an object of their devotion; until at last the demons of the infernal regions seemed to be turned loose; misery and wretchedness spread their dark wings throughout the land; murder,

unrebuked, shook his gory locks through all the streets and highways, and human butchery became the daily occupation of the rulers and the pastime of the people;—all these are familiar, but not singular, illustrations of the truth that man, cut loose from the guidance of Providence, and the venerable and sacred teachings of the past, and relying upon his own unaided reason, ever rushes with fearful precipitation to madness and ruin.

These reflections, Mr. Chairman, should by no means be considered inapposite. Look at the condition of our country and the present state of the public mind. In the whole history of the human race no parallel can be found to the present material prosperity of the American people; and yet, as if intoxicated with our own abundance, we are almost on the eve of putting the knife to each other's throats. We claim to be the freest people on earth, and yet we are sickening the hearts of the friends of freedom throughout the world by our unnatural and suicidal quarrels. We believe ourselves to be the most intelligent and enlightened people that the sun shines on, and yet within the past few years there is no folly so great, no theory in religion, morals, or politics, so wild and visionary, that it will not find numerous and zealous advocates among our people.

Look around you, sir, and see the new and extraordinary follies that are now rife in the land. Pulpits once devoted to the salvation of immortal souls, and to preaching "peace on earth and good will to men," have become arsenals for the collection of the bloody instruments of death, and forums from which, by incendiary harangues, treason and rebellion are urged as a sacred duty upon excited and misguided citizens. Professed ministers from the court of Heaven have, by thousands, abandoned the duties of their sacred calling, and are bringing sad disgrace upon the church, by dragging their robes in the dirty pool of political strife; and now, with a kind of solemn mockery, are, by scores, with their black coats and white cravats, filling seats once occupied by patriots and statesmen.

In a country where it was fondly hoped that the adulterous connection of Church and State, with its dread train of evils, had been severed forever, an arrogant and bloated priesthood has boldly attempted to usurp the reins of government, and assuming to speak by authority from Heaven, "and in the name of Almighty God," to dictate the action of an American Congress. Thousands who are living in the daily enjoyment of the blessings of our matchless Government, because it gives no sanction to their wild and crazy theories, now madly curse the Constitution and the Union as "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," and swear that they will no longer consent to "a Union with slaveholders." With a malignity that can receive its inspiration only from the father of evil, they traduce the patriots of the Revolution, and with their traitorous feet rudely trample on the graves of Washington and his compatriots. And because the Bible neither denounces nor "ignores" the institutions of fifteen States of this Union, these modern Solomons have discovered a higher law than the Constitution or the word of God, and madly hurl their horrible anathemas in the very

face of Heaven. The sacred institution of marriage, without which home would be deprived of all its endearments, and society return to barbarism, is boldly and publicly denounced, and "free-love" reformers have become the allies and fit companions of Abolition societies and spirit-rapping convalescents.

In this once free and happy country, before the last lingering spirit of '76 is gathered to the home of his fathers, and almost before the warning voice of Washington has died upon our ears, the fundamental principles of our Constitution—the very principles which have heretofore been our proudest boast—the right of self-government—the right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, without molestation or hindrance from his fellow man—and the solemn declaration of our Constitution, that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States"—our boast, that ours is the home of the exile, and the asylum of the oppressed—all these have been denounced and repudiated, and we have been threatened with a return to the bigotry, the selfishness, the madness and folly of the darkest page of the history of the world. Here, where every man has the right, and it ought to be his pride, to walk forth in the light of day, and boldly speak his sentiments as a freeman, hundreds of thousands of our people, of all professions and occupations, have, in the darkness and secrecy of night, as if moved by some common insane impulse, gone down into cellars, and caverns, and darkened rooms, shut out from the light of heaven and the observation of men, and after participating in extraordinary and unpatriotic orgies and ceremonies, have emerged forth to the light of day with their souls fettered, their cheeks blanched, and their eyes averted from their friends to conceal the unpatriotic secret that was already struggling for utterance; and falsehood and deceit, to the shame of our country, thus became the fundamental principles of a political organization.

A large portion of the Protestant Church, abandoning the principles by which it has thus far triumphed, and by which it can alone triumph, has joined in an intolerant cry against freedom of conscience; her ministers and laymen, dragged down into these secret caverns, have formed an unholy connection with the vicious and corrupt who have been sloughed off from old party organizations. The Church has thus been degraded and demoralized by her professed friends; Christianity put to the blush; irreligion sown broadcast throughout the land, and the seeds of infidelity scattered, from which we will be reaping the crop for generations to come. The right of suffrage, once deemed sacred, has been ruthlessly invaded, and American citizens have been driven through our streets like beasts, and cruelly murdered for attempting to exercise a right guaranteed by the highest sanctions of the Constitution. Mobs have been systematically organized, with signs, grips, and passwords, and become favored adjuncts of a political party; and men, women, and children have been cruelly murdered for no other offense than having been born on the banks of the Rhine or the Shannon, instead of the Hudson or Mississippi, and for coming from the same lands our forefathers came from, and with pre-

cisely the same purpose — of finding free and happy homes in this.

The ballot-box, once the sacred instrument through which a freeman in peace and safety made known his will, has been invaded, trampled upon, and broken to pieces, and its contents scattered to the four winds of heaven, and the will of the majority superseded by mob violence and usurpation.

Mr. Chairman, this is no exaggerated picture. It falls far short of the reality. Would to God that I possessed the painter's skill to present at one view this wild fanaticism, this dreadful demoralization of the public mind, that has been sweeping over the country for the last few years! The world would stand aghast at the horrid picture!

Your mind, Mr. Chairman, may not heretofore have been called to the fact, but the truth of what I shall now utter can be denied by no one, and the fact itself ought to give food for solemn thought to every lover of his country. Look around over this broad land, from the Saint Lawrence to the Rio Grande, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and you will find, without exception, that all these *isms*, these devotees of the most transparent follies, and most wicked practices—the worshipers of Sam, and the worshipers of Sambo; the disunion Abolitionists and the oath-bound Catholic-haters; the men who curse the Constitution of their country, and the men who curse the Bible of the living God; the parsons who have degraded their holy calling, and the mobocratic demolishers of ballot-boxes; the conductors of underground railroads, and the murderers of naturalized citizens; the spirit-rapping devotee, and the religious maniac in his ascension robes; free-love societies, Abolition societies, and woman's rights conventions; slung-shot bullies, Sharpe's rifle theologians, and the common defamers of the revolutionary history of sovereign States—all, without exception, join in one wild howl against the great Democratic party of the country. This strange compound of madness, fanaticism, and folly, without any common political sentiment, disagreeing among themselves upon every principle of government, religion, and morals, have yet one common bond of union that binds them together like hooks of steel, and that is opposition, hatred—irreconcilable, undying hatred—to that great party which was founded by Jefferson, illustrated by Madison, Jackson, and Polk, and which is now the only party that stands by the Union, and by the Constitution of our country, as our fathers made it.

Prominent in this strange medley of united fanaticisms and inconsistencies (and embracing the greater part of them) stands the great Black Republican party of the North, whose members here and throughout the country have scrupled at no falsehood, and paused at no crime, that might help to inflame and excite the public mind already driven to the very verge of madness. Their cries of "plighted faith," "sacred compact," "slave aggression," "free Kansas," and the like, are but instruments for carrying out the plans of their great leader, laid down eight years ago, and before the organization of Kansas was thought of, when, in his speech at Cleveland, he marked out the plan by which he could "soon bring the parties of the country into an effective

aggression upon slavery." Agitation is the very life-blood of this party, without which they know they could have no existence; and in trying to keep up a bountiful supply of this their natural aliment, they have shown an utter disregard of the peace and prosperity of the country, and even of the existence of the Union itself.

These agitators have been true to no theory, and consistent in nothing which they have asserted or advocated. Affecting regret at the unfortunate difficulties in Kansas, which have been caused by their own officious and illegal intermeddling, they have nevertheless opposed and defeated every measure intended or calculated to give peace and quiet to that Territory. Professing a holy horror of some obnoxious and unconstitutional enactments of the Territorial Legislature, they have voted down an act proposing their repeal. Having petitioned the President to send the army to Kansas, they now denounce him for complying with their demands. Affecting great distrust of the President, they have passed through the House a measure proposing to give him unconstitutional and even despotic powers. Their own committee, chosen by themselves, and sent to Kansas to make capital for the approaching elections, returns, and reports, "that in the present condition of the Territory a fair election cannot be held without a new census, a stringent and well regulated election law, the selection of impartial judges, and the presence of United States troops at every place of election." Almost immediately upon the publication of this report, a bill is passed through the Senate, proposing to carry out, in every particular, these suggestions; and yet these men, to the surprise of all candid and patriotic citizens, immediately denounce this bill as a measure of the "slave power," and an attempt to make Kansas a slave State.

Mr. Chairman, the conviction is forced upon my mind that this party is determined, at all hazards, to prevent a settlement of these unfortunate difficulties; and nothing seems to afford them so much pleasure as new reports, whether true or false, of additional murders, outrages, and violence. Gentlemen of this unholy, this treasonable organization, I say to you now, that, smile as you may in your fancied security—wrapped in your cloak of privilege, and sustained as you may be by an excited and misguided constituency, you will yet be called to a fearful account for your conduct in this crisis of our country's destiny. You are the real instigators of all this violence and crime. Upon your heads will finally rest the guilt and the infamy. By your course you have precipitated these fearful evils upon the country. When this day of insanity and madness shall have passed away; when the sober reason of the people shall have returned; when truth, now obscured by brazen and unblushing falsehood, shall shine forth in her true colors; when the motives of the actors in this sad drama shall be fully known and appreciated, and uncloaked hypocrites shall stand exposed, naked, and trembling in their unmasked deformity, many, who are now exulting in their fancied success, will call for rocks and mountains to fall upon them and hide them from the indignation of an abused and outraged public.

One alleged excuse for this Abolition crusade is, that the Legislature of Kansas was a usurpation, and its acts void. That may be so, or it may

not. This is a question which the courts, and the courts alone, can properly try and determine. I shall not, here or elsewhere, become an apologist for the violators of law in Kansas. Those who have attempted to control her destiny by illegal voting, or by violence, whether they come from Massachusetts or Missouri, from Illinois or South Carolina, deserve to be visited with the heaviest penalties of the law. To me it makes no difference from whence they come. They have been guilty of enormities that ought not to go unpunished. They have defaced the image of God, and been guilty of treason against Heaven, against free government, and the rights of man. But the only code of laws in existence by which they can be punished, is this much-abused Kansas code. That there was wrong and fraud in the election of many of the members of this Kansas Legislature, I think is very probable. I regret that such was the case. As a lawyer, I do not think that such would be the result, but it is even possible that the courts would hold that these acts are void. The consequences of such a decision would be dreadful to society; and yet that is what these "Republicans" have proposed to do by direct legislation. I have examined these Kansas laws with some care, and I assert here, without the fear of contradiction, that as a code, with some few exceptions, they are worthy of all commendation. They provide a remedy for almost every wrong, and a penalty for every possible crime; and in a volume of five or six hundred pages, there are but some half a dozen enactments that any man can with good reason object to. These we have proposed to repeal, or declare void, because they were in violation of fundamental principles of the Constitution, and the organic act of the Territory—but these model "Republicans" have prevented us from doing so. Nothing will satisfy them but a repeal of the whole code in a body. Their papers are filled, day by day, with accounts of the perpetration of the most enormous crimes in Kansas by the "border ruffians," and yet they would blot out of existence the only code of laws under which these men can be brought to trial and punishment. If the Missourians have violated the election laws, illegally taken possession of the polls, or destroyed the ballot-boxes, I want to see them, every man of them, brought to trial and punishment. If Mississippians have gone to that Territory and committed robberies, arsons, and burglaries, I want to see the severest penalties of the law visited upon them. If Carolinians have indeed gone there and brutally murdered our "free-State" men, I want to see them hung so high that they may prove a warning to all evil-disposed persons in the future. But this will not satisfy these virtuous Republicans. They must repeal these laws, and thereby legalize treason, murder, anarchy, and violence. Repeal these laws, and the traitor and the murderer is placed upon a perfect equality with the virtuous and upright citizen. Repeal these laws, and the man whose soul is blackened with every crime, and whose skirts may be dripping with the blood of murdered freemen, will walk forth free and unfettered as the winds of heaven. Such an enormous proposition was never heard of before since the world began; and yet this is just what is proposed by these model Republicans.

Admit that there are obnoxious enactments in this code: it does not follow that that gives us the right to deprive the people of Kansas of their most sacred heritage—the right of self-government. Is theirs the only Legislature that has passed foolish or obnoxious laws? Why, sir, there is not a State in the Union that has not done the same thing. But the people affected thereby always discover the evil, and provide a remedy in due time, and that without any officious intermeddling from without.

Have those Representatives of that honored old Commonwealth, who are now so much troubled about this Kansas code, and so much in love with the negro race, forgotten that at one time, in Massachusetts, there were statutes providing for banishing Baptists from the Colony, and forbidding any one to speak against infant baptism?—denying the son of the Emerald Isle the right to set his foot upon her soil?—punishing with death all persons (even the untutored Indians) who should speak against the established religion as "a politic device to keep ignorant men in awe?"—punishing with banishment and death persons professing the Roman Catholic religion?—punishing with imprisonment inoffensive Quakers, and cutting off their ears, and boring their tongues with a red-hot iron, for no crime except that of being true to their own faith?—and banishing citizens for even speaking against these laws? Have they forgotten the infamy of the "Hiss Legislature," or the passage of the famous "personal liberty bill?" The good people of Massachusetts have corrected most of these evils of legislation; but they never would have permitted any other people to have dictated to them the time or mode of repealing these laws. If there are other evils that need correcting, they are competent to find the remedy, without any officious intermeddling of others. And this is all that is asked for the people of Kansas—that they may be left free to frame their own laws, and to correct their own evils of legislation.

In this allusion to the early history of Massachusetts legislation, I am not willing that my motives shall be misunderstood. If I had the power, I could not be induced to dim the lustre of her glorious history. I have no sympathy with gentlemen who may attempt to detract from the fair fame of any portion of our common country; nor can they in this way afford me any pleasure, command my gratitude, or secure my respect. The noble deeds of Massachusetts constitute a part of the common heritage in which I claim a part. Her soil is a cherished portion of this great country; and her Lexington, and Concord, and Bunker Hill, are holy places, cherished in the hearts of all true Americans. Every State, every nook and corner, of this broad land, I feel to be a portion of my country, whose reputation and glory I cherish, and whose fame I would be the last to deface.

I refer to these enactments only to prove that even the most enlightened communities will at times pass very foolish and very unjust laws; and that the only safe or justifiable rule under our system is for every people to attend to the correction of their own evils and their own laws, and leave other communities the right and privilege of doing the same thing for themselves. Unfortunately, the disposition to intermeddle with, and try to

control, the legislation, and even the religion, of others, with which we can have, rightfully, nothing to do, has spread throughout the land, and has at length brought us almost to the verge of disunion and civil war.

Another wing of this allied army engaged in this unholy warfare against the Democratic party, is the southern branch, of the Know Nothing party; the northern branch, with very few exceptions, having been swallowed up and completely identified with the Black Republican movement. Of this secret, oath-bound organization, I shall have very little to say. Its life has been brief but eventful, and even now it is in the very act of giving up the ghost. As improbable as it will appear to future generations who may read the history of these times, there is no doubt that the great mass of the people who have been entrapped within the meshes of this strange organization, entered it with the purest motives and most patriotic purposes. They have discovered their error, and are now rapidly retracing their steps; and when the frosts of November shall visit us, the immortal "Sam" will have passed away from the earth, and the place that knows him now will know him no more forever. Born of bigotry and intolerance, he was conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity. His strange birth, rapid growth, violent life, and sudden death, will form an interesting study for the future politician and historian. Like Jonah's gourd, he sprung up full grown in a night-time only to wither and die before the light of the morning sun. But brief as has been his career, he has left footprints upon our institutions that it will take ages to eradicate. But I will not dwell on this view of the subject.

For the members of that party whom I have met on this floor, (I mean those who have a just claim to nationality in their feelings and sentiments,) I entertain, personally, the kindest feelings. Those with whom I have become more intimate, I hope always to rank among my personal friends. But candor and truth compel me to add that, in my own opinion, when the history of these times is written, the blackest page will be that which records the ingratitude of the southern Know Nothings to the Democratic party of the northern States. The great battle which has raged for the last two years throughout the North between Abolition fanaticism on the one side, and the defenders of the Constitution and the constitutional rights of the South on the other, has been the fiercest, the most bitter, proscriptive, and relentless, known to the history of our country. The great Abolition sea swelled, and its waters rolled towards the national capital. Its billows dashed against the pillars of the Constitution and threatened to engulf us all. But wherever the storm raged fiercest and the waves rolled highest, the national men of the North were found struggling, with almost superhuman efforts, to beat back this Abolition deluge from the capital. Many of these men were beaten down by the enemy; but the survivors, although they saw their brethren falling on the right hand and on the left, still fought on with courage and confidence.

And who are these men, who, at the sacrifice of ease and comfort, and in the face of political and social ostracism, thus battled, day after day, for the rights of their distant brethren, and the

integrity of the Union? Among them you will find Cass, and Douglas, and Richardson, and Willard, and Hallet, and indeed, the entire Democracy of the whole North; but you may cast your eye over the whole field, from Maine to California, and you will not find one single member of the Know Nothing party engaged in this contest on the side of the Constitution. Your Know Nothing Banks, and Wilson, and Burlingame, and Fuller, and men of like kidney, were in the contest, but their blows were aimed at the Democracy, and not at this dangerous Abolition faction. Your national men, if you had them, were lying still while this storm was raging, and struck no blow for the principles of the Constitution. Your Fillmore, at a safe distance from the scene of conflict, was quietly sipping his wine with the Pope of Rome, or basking in the smiles of some crowned head of Europe. The position of your HENRY M. FULLER, to say the best you can of him, was so uncertain, that his Black Republican colleagues from his own State, voted for him for weeks for Speaker of the present House, under the belief that he was as good a Free-Soiler as themselves. If he had ever, previous to that time, raised his hand once, and struck even one blow for the constitutional rights of the South, he could not under any circumstances have received one of these votes. Fuller's record, as he has patched it up here at the instigation of his southern friends, does not better his condition. Take it altogether, as stated by himself on this floor, and it is just this, and you can make nothing else of it: "I do not believe that the Federal Government has any power to legislate on the subject of slavery in the Territories; and as the President and Senate are against us, we cannot now restore the Missouri restriction, and, therefore, I am opposed to agitating the subject. But, if we had the President and the Senate with us, I would vote to restore that restriction, notwithstanding, in my opinion, it would be a violation of the Constitution and an invasion of the constitutional rights of the South." For GIDDINGS (who believes that we have the constitutional power) to vote to prohibit slavery in the Territories there is some excuse; but for HENRY M. FULLER, who believes that such a restriction would be a Federal usurpation, to declare, in the face of this House and the country, that he would vote to place it on the statute-book, is to exhibit a depth of fanaticism, or a cowardice in bending to the force of Abolition sentiment, that ought to damn him forever. And yet, this is the man whom you "South Americans" have tried to bolster up as a national man, and proclaimed as one upon whom the South could safely rely.

It is an easy matter for you Know Nothings of the South, removed far away from the scene of the conflict, supported and cheered on by your entire constituency, to denounce this northern fanaticism; but it is a different thing when, by standing by the rights of the South, you subject yourself to political and social ostracism, to the hatred and denunciation of your neighbors, to insult and mob violence; and for southern men to shut their eyes to the truth in regard to this great battle which is still raging throughout the North, and to continue your misrepresentations of those who are battling for your rights, is to be guilty of treason against the rights of your own constituents. And yet my colleague, [Colonel RICHARDSON,] who has

spent a whole life time in battling against Abolitionism and Free-Soilism, in all its various forms; who conducted the fight and carried the Kansas-Nebraska bill through the House of Representatives; who returned home and beat back the Abolition waves that threatened to overwhelm the Capitol; and, when these billows beat even against the doors of his own home, stood firm and unappalled, in a contest for many weeks here, did not receive one single vote for Speaker from this "South American" party, while you could all vote without hesitation for the aforesaid HENRY M. FULLER. But this is not all. No less distinguished a gentleman than the able representative from the Nashville district, [MR. ZOLLI-COFFER,] sits in his seat here, and in the face of the whole country declares that such men as RICHARDSON, and DOUGLAS, and STEPHENS, are more dangerous to the South than the Abolitionists. This partial vindication of the Abolitionists by a southern man surprised us all at the time; but it was easily understood when, a few weeks afterwards, we saw your HONORABLE MARSHALLS, your READS, and your ZOLLI-COFFERS, sitting down in convention at Philadelphia, and consulting as to the best mode of defeating the Democracy, with such rank Abolitionists as Governor Ford, of Ohio, and men of like kidney—men that a northern Democrat would not touch with a forty foot pole. You denounce and misrepresent northern Democrats who come here covered with the dust and smoke of battle, and covered all over with the scars of wounds received in this great contest with Abolitionism, while you extend the right hand of fellowship to the rankest Abolitionists in the land; and yet you proclaim yourselves the peculiar guardians of the rights of the South. I do not doubt your devotion to your own interests and the interests and rights of your own section; but your judgments have been so warped by partisan prejudice and hatred of the Democratic party that you must be numbered among those who "having eyes see not, and having ears will not hear the things that pertain to your own salvation."

And all these factions are arrayed for the destruction of the Democratic party, and that, too, at a time when it presents the only barrier to the success of treason and fanaticism. This is surely no time to disband or abandon that glorious old party; a party that recognises the equality of the States and the political equality of every citizen of the Republic; a party that, like the dews of Heaven, dispenses its blessings to all alike. This party is of no mushroom growth, and was engendered neither in the hot-bed of fanaticism nor of religious bigotry. It was born with the Constitution; and, planting itself by the side of that sacred instrument, it has "grown with its growth and strengthened with its strength." It came into power in the infancy

of the Republic, and under its auspices our country has grown, and strengthened, and expanded, until we have become the greatest, the most independent, and, with the exception of evils resulting from fanaticism and folly, the happiest people on earth. Under its auspices every additional acquisition of territory has been achieved, and every new extension of the Republic has been made. Under its auspices and protection our empire took up its wonderful march westward, and lovely towns and smiling villages have sprung up, and decorate the banks of the beautiful Ohio. Under its auspices our people are developing the resources of the valley of the great Father of Waters. Under its auspices Texas was acquired, and our flag now proudly floats on the banks of the Rio Grande. Under its auspices our people have passed the barriers of the Rocky Mountains, taken possession of the golden sands of California, and are daily launching their vessels on the Pacific's dark blue waves. Under its auspices our flag now whitens every sea, and visits every isle that gems the bosom of the ocean. And this party, purified by the fires of persecution, and invigorated with the best blood of the old Whig party, now occupies a prouder position than in any previous portion of its history.

And will you now ask us to abandon this party while it is fighting the great battle of the Constitution and the Union? Will you ask us to unite with these new factions born of folly and madness, which have introduced strife, and mobs, and violence, and bigotry, intolerance, and fanaticism?—and which have already almost destroyed the best Government God ever gave to man? Heaven forbid that we should do so! No; we will stand by our old party as long as there is one plank of the Constitution left for us to defend. While the cohorts of fanaticism are marshaling under the black banner of treason, and their blows are heard at the outward portals of our temple, we cannot take down our flag without being guilty of treason against Heaven and liberty.

"Ours is no sapling, chance-sown by the fountain,

Blooming at Beltane, in winter to fade;

When the whirlwind has stripped every leaf from the mountain,

The more shall Clan Alpine exult in his shade;

Moored in the rifted rock,

Proof to the tempest shock,

Firmer he roots him the ruder it blows."

Mr. Chairman, the great battle of the Constitution and the Union is now being fought. Those who would strike one blow for the Constitution made by our fathers must rally under the flag of the Democratic party. There is now no other hope for the country. If that party is destroyed, the Constitution and the Union must go down with it. May Heaven avert this awful calamity!